1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

771 lessly in human life; night succeeds day; the stations of the year rotate endlessly through spring, summer, fall and winter; the planets move in eternal sequence through the sky. Thus to discover what those rhythms were and follow their complicated but regular beat would, in Aztec philosophy, ensure the happy survival of the community. There was little thought of the perfection of the individual when vast powers hovered close, ready to destroy the whole tribe if it ceased its vigilant watch on nature. Thus rhythm and form become an essential part of worship and found their outlet in ritual and religion, art, philosophy and science.

The growth of civilization, with the resultant ramification of social function and material equipment, led likewise to a more complex perception of the universe, expressed in the stratification of gods and goddesses and a specialization of their functions. This result led to a more intense observance of ritual, which consumed a great part of the material and intellectual product of the tribe.

Aztec religion was an outgrowth of the recognition and fear of natural forces and the attempt to constrain them. The process by which man defines these forces and grades them in order of importance is as much a part of the evolution of culture as art, mechanics or social organization. The Aztecs developed a conception of the relationship of the supernatural forces to the universe that, given the precision of our method of thought, could have been developed into an imposing philosophy.

773 According to Aztec belief, the world passed through four
776 or five ages, or Suns. Details differ, but the record on the great Calendar Stone may be taken as the official version in Tenochtitlan. The first era, Four Ocelot, had Tezcatlipoca

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the presiding god, who, at the end, transformed himself into the sun, while jaguars ate up the men and giants who then populated the earth. Quetzalcoatl was the divine ruler of the second era, Four Wind, at the expiration of which hurricanes destroyed the world and men were turned into monkeys. The Rain God, Tlaloc, gave the world light in the third epoch, Four Rain, brought to a close by a fiery rain. Chalchihuitlicue,* "Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt," was a Water Goddess who presided appropriately over the fourth Sun, Four Water, wherein a flood came, transforming men into fish. Our present age, Four Earthquake, is under the control of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, and it will be destroyed, in time, by earthquakes.[2] (See Plate 52.)

While the versions vary from place to place, we seem to have a recapitulation of the great disasters from flood, volcanic eruption, hurricanes and earthquakes that beset the communities of ancient Mexico. Also there is a reflection of the order in which the gods attained prominence in the local worship. In the history of the Mexican tribes there are references to struggles within single towns between the devotees of two cults, as to which would have the mastery.[3]

The universe itself was conceived in a religious rather than a geographic sense and was divided horizontally and vertically into areas of religious significance. The horizontal universe, possibly the older concept, recognized five directions, the four cardinal points and the center. The Fire God, old and fundamental in Mexican religion, controlled the central zone. The east was assigned to the Rain God, Tlaloc, and the Cloud God, Mixcoatl (Cloud Snake), and was a region of abundance. In this idea geography was combined with

*Chal-chee-we'et-le-kway.

776
796 surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the
borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here
guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him,
they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.
776 And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips
there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt.
He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his
back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the
top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges.
He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whose ate the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was
the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of
the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

inxuuoaque, yn ixcuoc omiqua, quiqualcuoaia yn jmmal-
hoin, yn jnclaxiuia, in maltequjhoua, machioaia: njcan
quiqujxiaia, yn calpixqua, in cacalpixqua.

Auh intla aca tlaiehi, intla tlacholohti, ypan tlacaquetzaia,
motlacacoujaia, quixiptlaiotiaia, quixiptlatiaia:
in tlaclacuti, vncan miquja, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia.

Auh yn jnechichinol: tzonmacpale istlapaloatzale, tlaixtla-
palcatzalujlli, tlaixtlapalvilli, yhujxoncale, quachichiqujle,
vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitonecatlamamale, ypan icac,
tonalopanjtl, quetzaltzonnic, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzal-
tzontecume, quetzaltzontecomio, teotlapaltica motzinjlpi,
motzinapa, ytzcalocac, tonalocaque.

Jnic exatolli capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa yn teotl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznauac, teotl catca, yn jnch tlamjlcia, in piqujlileia, quitocaia ca. ichcatl inactia, in cenaiutl, in tecoanotzalitzli, in tetlacamatilizli, in tetlatlaqualtilitzli: yiuatijan machioaia yn jnnecentlalilia, yn jnnecenquixtiliz teoiolque, tachi vicoia, vmpa nacizmachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxipcla.

Auh no quitocaia, yntlacamo mauizzilo, yn juhqujma cuoanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan teaoaia, quilhujaia, yn aquin quitemjquj. Jn tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmauizmati; njmitztlalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njcchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa
cruntli qujtzcolohtia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj
yn mjtza tzuqua, miecpa mococua: ynjc quitolinja, melcima,
ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepetlamja in jquac tlaqua:
auh yntla nenemj motepetlamja, motecujnja, motlavitequj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtililoia: yn aquin tzuqua, achcopa
quichioaia, trumjmilli, yiomjio in teotl catca: çan tlacatl,
tzupizquj calpole, cen molicpixl ynjc hujviiac, vel totomacac,
mjmjltic.

Auh yn aiamo nemamaco, oc achcopa tlatlaqualo, atlioa,
tlaoano: auh yn otlathujc conjtitocpinja, yn omacatl
conmjctia: njman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nenezalhujlo,
in teumjmjlli:

iquac quaqualo, iuhquin ic tetzmiotiloia, tetlacaqujtilo,
tetlalhujlo, temolcoualtilo: ca yn aquiqui macoia, yn iquac
ie ilhujohquiçac, macujtlaxcalhtlaoaia, mopopoaia, ypampa
ca ontlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichinol catca: ihvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yuã

74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) in mente. *Cf. Sahagún Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 222). The name secret suggests various other meanings—the south, the heroic or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 213, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cueçalvitoquj yn jtlamamal, ytomalopan ipan icac, totomaloio yn jmaneapan, totomaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiellotopil, xopilcueque, yamamaztli, tiztile, coiole, itomalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlaloca. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 796 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

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776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic castolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn quimotenitaia in oncauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mitoaia, tlalec: atlaca intech catca, quimotenitiaia.

Jub quitoaia, ca ixhoatl itlatzintil, ytlacentil, quitzititi in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjaacachalli, yn avictli, tzompaztli.

Auh yn iquac illujquitilloia, atl, tlaqualli, vetli, in vendi muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, quitepeviliaia, ic quinanamiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl quichaiaviliaia: iuhquin tecivitl povia: no yoã quicuicatiaia, yn iverviocan, yn jlamaiocan, calpoleque.

776 Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaçalli, tlaolaltilli, artaztoque, quetzalmjauoio, amamaztle, amaneapanale, tenaloio.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

776 His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his
753 attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

776 796 Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anozcel itecuh: tzapoteca in vel intech catca,

yn itequiuh pouja, yn ixcuian ytlachioal, yn inetacavil: ic temodaia, ic tetoxaia, ihoatl quitemacaia, in totomonjlintli, papalanilintli, çaçaoztilintli, ixcuculintli, ixchichiltinalintli, ixtenpipixaquilintli, ixtemaçaliciuintli, ixtiuhpachinilintli, ixtacapachiuilintli, ixtacacivintli, ixtotolicivintli, ixtecayciuintli.

Jn aquja ipan tlachioaia, yn coculintli tequjchti, yuicpa monenelchiaia, yuicpa mjtoaia: ynic onmaquja yn jiouaio, ynic itlan aquia, yn jquac illujquitililo: motecaiotia, tlacaxipeoalintli:

tlapainaltiuia, tetocaia, mjequjotin momanaia, muchinti coiotiuj, chichiltecatiuj, chichipic-tiuj, tzotzolantiuj in

79. *Cf. Sahagún, Historia general,* Vol. II, p. 388 (*tecpanquachichiquilli*).

80. *Cf. Seler (Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, p. 931) for explanation of *manta del sol.*

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama mitzcuachalli.*"—*Sahagún, op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como flecha, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas,* [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(o?) triangulo (es?)tan trahendo*] *con que hace, a los peces; y tambien es el mismo assi.*"

82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo,* oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. *Seler (Translation) of the Aubin Collection,* p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.,* Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Tenochtitlan district. A clear discussion of the "*pepenar y desplumar*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. III, p. 193. See also note 88.

84. Meaning problematical.

[501]

T16
T96 goods)." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

[565] And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food [595] and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

T76 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, quinquetza: mòch tlaçotlmatli, yn jntech quintlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahelanj yn jncuje, yaje momiquinquequelos.

Auh intla aca cittec, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in ixlimatquj, yn jne, yn iollo: quiquixtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, inela cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchica, vel achica, in qualli yiauh, in qualli itelaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no quintlecia, quinmotlacacioanotiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal modadatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaztle, tzitzile, oiocale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlaçcaia ymac onoc, odatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which tells[112] of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

T76 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[113]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[114]

● [173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

T76 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
T96 washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tzutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incarjan, in calpolloc, quimoetutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacotechjuhque, ytech mopouia:

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinmachti, quimititi, in petlachioalitli, yn icpalchioalitli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintila, tlapecaltile.

Joan iuh quitoaia ca iehoatl quitocaltia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpixtzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, astapili, in tolqujuitl, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, zonali:

ynan yn jquac ilhujuhquiçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan quitzertzeloa, tepan quipixoa, yn aoachili, cenca tlaihelanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quitocaia, tlacatli, in quimictiaia extiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "*esta cubierta con una manta azul, y sobre el azul, una red negra: de manera que azul, se parece, por las mallas de la red.*"

111. The *tecolotlachiuhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which contained, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Soler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 93, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve summaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Soler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*Napan cubierto de juncias: que llamaan tolcuezili.*"

114. *Cf.* Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

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Del Principio de los Dioses

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

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First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

Injc ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa jn quenjn otzintique in tetеuh.

In quenjn tzintique in tetеuh in canpa tzintique, amo vel macho, ca ie iehoatl in panj ca in vncan teotioacan, qujtoa in canjn yn iqujn, in oc iovaian vncan mocentlalique, in iuqujchtin teteu, yoan mononotzque, in aqujn tlatlquiz, in aqujn tlamamaz, in aqujn tonatiuh iez, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cececnj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muzcalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh qujmatia veveteque.

TO VITZLOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaua. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

JN VITZLOPOCHTLI, in cenca qujmaviztililaia in Mexica.

Yvin in qujmatia, in itzintiliz, in ipeoaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tullan, cemilhujtl quitztica, vmpa nenca cihoatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh inveltiuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in iehoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamacegaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Jnjc tlama-

1. *Tlatquic* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *daquin* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio* MS. Cf. *supra*, *origen*. in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simple terms, the most usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 13ff. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-8; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121f.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (Huitzilopochtli), moon (Copulnahuac), and stars (Centzonuitznaua)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 26-9. He states: "*Yo hemos visto ahora como unos de ellos voluntariamente Huitzilopochtli era el encargado en que los astrellas, capitaneados por la Luna, pasaudos mucho porque no crezca en el predigio de la omnipotente diviua, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de su vientre armado del rayo de luz y mata a la Luna y a los astrellas.*"

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did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitnaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

cenaia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oaltemoc ihujtl, iuhqujn ihujtelolotli, njman concujtiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cōcuizquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oqujtlalica aoc tle qujttac, njman ic otztic in Coatl icue.

auh in oquittaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie otztli, cenca qualanque quitoque ac oq'chivili y? aqujn ocotzti? techavilq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

auh in jnveltiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noqujchtioan techavilqujxtia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlauelíloc in ie otztli: ca oqujchivili in itic ca.

auh in oqujma Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconeuh in jtic catca qujiollaliaia, quioalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

in oqujcac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconeuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oqujcētlalique in jntlatol, in oquicemjtoq̄ ica qujmictizque in jnnan, iehica ca otlapinauhti, ça çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in qujçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca qujnioleoaia, qujniollococoltiaia in joqujchtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cēntzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocēcaoa, moiaochichioa.

auh in iehoantin centzonvitznaoa, iuhq'n tequjoaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquauicujaia, quiquauicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necoc qujtlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein qujtooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, connonotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlatzine; vel xonmotlacaqujlti ic ne njcmati.

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oqujcemjtoque, in ocentetix in jntlatol, injc quimjctizque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "*en el cauo junto a la barriga.*"
5. Quetzalcoatl is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born. See Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

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that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teuecuelli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

tizque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhquj, vel muchichicaoa, mocecenquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, intech quitlalique in jmamatlatquj, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujlolli, yoan in coiolli incotztitech qujilpique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaiciecotivj, momamâtivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic motlalotitleco, in qujnonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

njman qujto in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cā ie vitze,

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan iativitze.

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

njman jc conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman jc oallacat,

njman itlatquj oaljetia in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xoxoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic ommichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of *tzinicaztli* are mentioned.

9. *Tlalcacopan*: on use of *tlaca* in composition, see Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (ed. Cecilie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in Tenuch, later came to be names of places around the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, used perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where Apetlac and Coaxalpan are referred to not as towns but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. 1.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 1: "*Schild mit hellen rote narumpfarben Zeug.*"

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agonal stripes[12] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[13] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Coyolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[14] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[14a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely bested and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[15] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechiual, moquaxpotonj, ixquac, yuan inanacaztlan, auh ce pitzaoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quixpotonj in jxocpal, yoan quitzacoaoan in jmetz vmextli, yoan vmextli in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalquj contlati in xjuhcoatl, quioalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhquj: auh njman quechcotontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa ommocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetzititivetz, cecoccan veuetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ic oalcoa, quinoaltoca intlan aquj, quinoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oquimaxitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ic ic quintoca, quiniaiaoalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiaoalochti, in qui iaiaoalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nē quioaloiuiaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia, aoc tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel axque, aocmo vel quitzacuilique, çan quinçemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quinçentepoczzi, vel quinpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quinpoctlantili.

auh in ça aocmo vel quincacaia, in ovel in cēntech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhuiaia ma ixquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quintocac. auh ça quezquitcon in ixpanpa coaque, in imacpa quinque vmpa itztiaque in vitztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztiaque, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquinquintin in inantitlanpa quinque in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquinmjcti, in oyicllelquiz quincuili in jntlatqui, in jnpechichiual in anquioti,

12. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Uno caluleo, lacha de xuxi, que es llamado xiuhcoatl.*"
14. See Pl. 2.
14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 257) translates this passage thus: "*vergebens rannte sie ihn an mit ihren Rundn, vergebens standen sie ihr Schilden an, schlugen sie (nur Abwehr gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts mehr machen, nichts mehr tun, konnten sich nicht mehr gegen ihn verteidigen.*"
15. Following *ninolonque*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *ye ia cuezcoma ninolonque*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Uitztlampa, because indeed there these Centzonuitznaua journeyed. . . . ."
16. *Centzonuitznaua*: probably *centzonuitznaua* is intended.

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[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl icue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlatquiti, quimaxcati, quimotonalti, iubq'n quimotlavizti.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nex in ita.

Jehoatl in oquipiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oquimaviztiliaia, oquitlaecoltiaia, ioan in itech muchioaia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in iehoatl in tlamaviztililiztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaãtli in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh
ie ixquich.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked *maguey*, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, pointed with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INJC VME PARRAPHO vncan motenecoa in quenjn qujmaviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc qujmoteutiaia.

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in qujtlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, caxtlaliaia, caxtiliaia, iuhqujn axjn, iuhquin ivitl, qujtlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquiztiaia in petzicatl, in tezcaouhtli, yoan ipolocatl, yoan in palanquj, yoan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquiztiaia, muchi quichichitotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhqujn ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhqujn axi.

auh in imuztlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc qujmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatecpaio conaqujliaia yiollopa,

17. *Por macehuia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *macehuaya*, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See Pt. 3.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63, nn. 28—which identifies *chicalotl* with *michicuachtli* or "fish amaranth"—and 30. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 258) translates the phrase *mitli chicauh tzoalli* as *den Samen der Stachelpflanze*; for *chicalotl* he has *Stachelmohn* (*Argemone mexicana*)—prickly poppy.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 9).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

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000 Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in iehoantin in quittaque acalli in achto valla.

Moctezúma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Toztlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

In motecuçoma, njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jzqujntin: qujmjlhuj. Xitlanaocticā, ma tlapielo, in noviā atenco; injc mjtoā. Nauhtlan Toztlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie qujçaqujvi:

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

njmā ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

Auh in motecuçoma: qujncentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonquj, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticociaoacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatenpatiltzin: qujncaqujti in tlatolli, yoan qujmjttiti, qujmjxpanti in qujoalcujque cozcatl:

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

qujmjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuiuitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel qujpiazque: intla centetl qujchitonizque tocacal, topipilhoan, titeheoan.

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjznequj, ie itzonqujzian in xivitl omei tochtli, in qujçaco, in ie no ceppa itoque.

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Auh njman qujnonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oqujcac, njman iciuhca thaioa, in iuh qujma, in iuh moma, ca iehoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oqujçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan qujçaqujuh, qujoalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in qujmjoa macujltin, in qujnamjqujtivi, in qujtlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Rubredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 96. For some time, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Ibid., *op. cit.*, p. 460; also corresponding Spanish text: *"paguela en los que tienen cargo de guardar la recamara."*

3. Before omei, in the Aztec text, probably matlactli should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mayé], 1940), p. 188, the passage *"Ca yuh catca in iyollo in iuh mochiuh, in ma quinequiznih quihualnauato in iquel in teçal"* is thus translated: *"Asi fue su determinación, que habría de venir, habría de regresar, habría de tornar a su tierra y estrado."*

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went. And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueuetlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit., where these are given as four from town. Tzicuecatl here is interpreted as Ueicamecatl.

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see that they were evil and of little worth, for where we had set up crosses such as those his ambassadors had seen, they dared not appear before them, through fear of them, and that as time went on they would notice this. 797

The favour he now begged of him was his attention to the words that he now wished to tell him; then he explained to him very clearly about the creation of the world, and how we are all brothers, sons of one father and one mother who were called Adam and Eve, and how such a brother as our great Emperor, grieving for the perdition of so many souls, such as those which their idols were leading to Hell, where they burn in living flames, had sent us, so that after what he [Montezuma] had now heard he would put a stop to it and they would no longer adore these Idols or sacrifice Indian men and women to them, for we were all brethren, nor should they commit sodomy or thefts. He also told them that, in course of time, our Lord and King would send some men who among us lead very holy lives, much better than we do, who will explain to them all about it, for at present we merely came to give them due warning, and so he prayed him to do what he was asked and carry it into effect.

As Montezuma appeared to wish to reply, Cortés broke off his argument, and to all of us who were with him he said: "with this we have done our duty considering it is the first attempt."

Montezuma replied—"Señor Malinche, I have understood your words and arguments very well before now, from what you said to my servants at the sand dunes, this about three Gods and the Cross, and all those things that you have preached in the towns through which you have come. We have not made any answer to it because here throughout all time we have worshipped our own gods, and thought they were good, as no doubt yours are, so do not trouble to speak to us any more about them at present. Regarding the creation of the world, we have held the same [773]

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797 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for
773 certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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Mother: "nantli" — "tenantzin" — "teciztli."[18] 601

Aunt: "auitl" — "teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 63, 92, 96). "Ciztli" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," *or the* "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacazqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [237 286]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuatl" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nieremberg*, ("*Historia naturæ maxima peregrime*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tzozocolci hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus praetentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxtlo seu gossypinum cingulum, alij cioatlamacazque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 422), he calls "Coçumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Liv. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [773]

[19] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 82). There is also, "nipipinia"—"pararse flaco de vejez," and "Pipinqui ynacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The *man* says, {"*Thy* / *Their*} boy" or {"*Thy* / "*Their*} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" {from "Tehuatl" / or "Te"} {"thou" / "their"} and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 82,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "*my* child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

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settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The whole nation was under a senate or college of the most prominent men."[45] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

[45] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190, note r), mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 83), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	*Acacitli,*	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch,*	*Tenoca,*	*Tenoch,*	Huehuecalco,
Meci.	Tecineutl,	*Nanacatzin,*	*Nanacatzin,*	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuezotl,	*Auezotl,*	*Ahuezotl,*	*Ahuezotl,*	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan,*	*Ocelopan.*	*Ocelopan.*	Yopico,
Tecacateti,	Quahpan.	*Tecacatetl,*	*Tezacatl,*	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	*Xomimitl,*	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal.	*Quentzin,*	*Quentzin,*	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaiti,	*Xiuhcaqui.*	*Xiuhcac,*	*Xiuhcac,*	Atlampa,
Axolotua.	Atototi.	*Axolohua,*	*Axolohua,*	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontliganauti,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Cozca,	Cozcati,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahati,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copoleo,
		Tezca.	*Tezcati.*	*Tezcatzonco.*

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

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as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 323 and 324), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Toltecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 220). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 35). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár muí rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."